

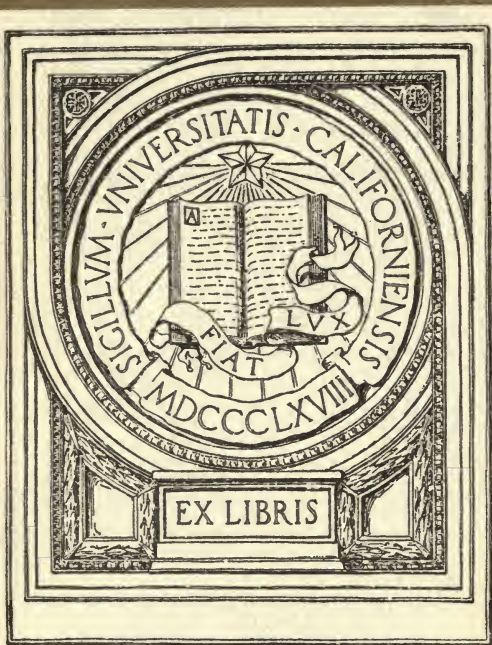
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NOTES ON THE BIBLIOGRAPHY

OF

YUCATAN AND CENTRAL AMERICA;

COMPRISING

YUCATAN, CHIAPAS, GUATEMALA (THE RUINS OF PALENQUE, OCOSINGO, AND  
COPAN), AND OAXACA (RUINS OF MITLA.)

A LIST OF SOME OF THE WRITERS ON THIS SUBJECT FROM THE  
SIXTEENTH CENTURY TO THE PRESENT TIME.

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BY AD. F. BANDELIER.

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FROM PROCEEDINGS OF THE AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY, OCTOBER 21, 1880.

WORCESTER:  
PRESS OF CHAS. HAMILTON,

311 MAIN STREET.

1881.





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## NOTES

ON THE

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF YUCATAN AND CENTRAL AMERICA.<sup>1</sup>

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BY AD. F. BANDELIER.

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### YUCATAN.

*Writers of the Sixteenth Century.*

JUAN DIAZ, chaplain to Juan de Grijalva. "Itinerario de l' Armata del Re Catholico in India verso la Isola de Iuchathan del anno M. D. XVIII."—Printed first (in the Italian language) as an appendix to the "Itinerario de Ludovico Varthema," in the edition of 1520, and subsequently in the editions of 1522, 1526 and 1535 of the latter book. It was also translated into the English language by Richard Eden, in the "Historie of Travayles," London, 1577, but I am not sure whether the report of Diaz is contained in it. The most popular translation is that by H. Ternaux-Compans, in his first "Recueil de pièces relatives à la conquête du Mexique," (Vol. X. of his "Voyages, Relations et Mémoires originaux pour servir à l'histoire de la découverte de l'Amérique,") and the latest and best reprint, together with a splendid Spanish translation, is contained in Vol. I. of "Coleccion de Documentos para la Historia de México," 1858, by Sr J. G. Icazbalceta, of México.

PETRUS MARTYR AB ANGLERIA. "Enchiridion de insulis nuper repertis simulatque incolarum moribus," Basel, 1521. (Separate print of the 4th Decade, which contains the first items about Yucatan ever published in Europe after Diaz's report).

"De orbe novo decades Petri Martyris ab Angleria, Mediolanensis, protonotarii, Cesarei senatoris.—Compluti apud Michaellem de Eguia," in December, 1530. Alcalá.

"Opus Epistolarum Petri Martyris Anglerii, Mediolanensis, &c., &c." Also printed by Miguel de Eguia. Alcalá.

Of further reprints, and of translations of Peter Martyr's works (the reports on Yucatan are contained in the 4th and 5th Decades), I merely quote: "Novus orbis regionum ac insularum veteribus incognitarum, &c." by Simon Grynæus, Basel, 1532, embodying Dec's 1, 2, 3, and 4.

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<sup>1</sup>The absence of Mr. Bandelier in Mexico, precludes a submission of the proof to his revision, and will account for any errors that may be discovered in the text.

(Also the edition of 1536.)—A French translation of the 4th Decade, by Simon de Colines, Paris, 1532.—A German version, by Hôniger of Kônigshofen.—Hackluyt's reprint of 1587. "De orbe novo Petri Martyris Anglerii, &c., &c.," and finally the complete English translation by Michael Lok and Richard Eden: "De novo Orbe, or the Historie of the West Indies, &c., &c.," London, 1612. I need not dwell on the great importance of Martyr's book, for Yucatan.

HERNAN CORTÉS. (His first letter is lost: in place of it the letter of the "Municipality of Vera Cruz," dated 10th July, 1519, contains a short statement about Yucatan. This letter is printed in Vol. I. of "Coleccion de Documentos inéditos para la historia de España," and in Vol. I. of "Historiadores primitivos de Indias," by Enrique de Vedia, Madrid, 1852.—Folsom's translation of 1843. "Despatches of Hernan Cortés, the conqueror of Mexico, &c." substitutes an Introduction by the translator himself.—The earliest mention of this report is found in Robertson: "History of America," Vol. III., p. 289, Edition of 1800, and an abstract is found in Prescott: "Conquest of Mexico," Appendix II., 3d Vol.) "Fifth letter to the Emperor Charles VII.," noticed by Robertson and Prescott; contained, in full, in "Historiadores primitivos de Indias," Vol. I., by Vedia. A full English translation, by Pascual de Gayangos, was published in 1868, by the "Hackluyt Society," vol. 40.

JUAN CRISTÓBAL CALVET DE ESTRELLA. "De Rebus Gestis Ferdinandi Cortèsii," written between 1548 and 1560, and printed with a Spanish translation: "Vida de Cortés," by Sr. Icazbalceta in Vol. I. of "Col. de Documentos para la Hist. de México."—Short and meagre.

ANDRÉS DE TAPIA. "Relacion hecha por el Señor Andrés de Tapia, sobre la conquista de México." (Icazbalceta's "Coleccion de Documentos, &c." Vol. II. México, 1866.)

BENEDETTO BORDONE. "Libro di Benedetto Bordone.—Nel qual si ragione tutte l'Isole del mondo con li loro nomi antichi e moderni," 1528.—Later editions also.

GIROLAMO BENZONI. "Historia del Mondo Nuovo," Venice, 1565.—Translated into German by Nicolaus Hoeniger: "Die Neue Welt und Indianischen Kônigreichs, neue und wahrhaffte geschichte, &c., &c.," Basel, 1579.—Incorporated in Théodore De Bry "Grosse Reisen," Parts 4, 5, and 6.—Of other prints I but mention the latest English translation, published by the Hackluyt Society in 1857 (Vol. 21,) under the title of "History of the New World, by Girolamo Benzoni," edited as well as translated by Rear-Admiral W. H. Smyth. There are Italian versions of 1572, French of 1587, and Latin of 1600.

BERNAL DIEZ DEL CASTILLO. "Historia verdadera de la Conquista de Nueva España," Madrid, 1632. (There may be two editions of the same



year[?]). Of the Spanish reprints I mention here (also contained in "Historiadores primitivos de Indias," Vedia, 1852, Vol. II.), the one of 1837, Paris, 4 Vols. 12°, and the other of 1854, México, 4 vols. also.—Two English translations are known to me at present: "The True History of the Conquest of Mexico, by Captain Bernal Diez del Castillo," translated by Maurice Keatings, London, 1800.—"The Memoirs of the Conquistador, Bernal Diez del Castillo," translated by John Ingram Lockhart, London, 1844.—There is also a German translation, by P. J. Rehfuss, Bonn, 1838.—Bernal Diez (not Díaz) is very valuable as eye-witness, having been to Yucatan with Cordoba (1517), Grijalva (1518), Cortés (1519),—and finally with the latter to Honduras, passing through Peten.

FRAY LORENZO DE BIENVENIDA. Letter to the Infante Philip (II.), dated Yucatan, 10 February, 1548. Original in MS. French translation by H. Ternaux-Compans in "1<sup>er</sup> Recueil de Pièces concernant le Mexique," Vol. X. 1838, of his collection of "Mémoires et documents Originaux, &c., &c."

GONZALO FERNANDEZ DE OVIEDO Y VALDÉS. "Historia General y natural de las Indias," composed of 50 books.—The first 19 books, and part of the 50th, were published by the author as early as 1535,—and the first 20 books as early as 1557,—but the entire work has only been printed in 1851, at Madrid, 4 Vols. folio.—It is full of details concerning Yucatan:

FRANCISCO LOPEZ DE GOMARA. "Historia general de las Indias, y todo lo acaescido en ellas dende que se ganaron hasta agora. Y la conquista de México, y de la nueva España, &c." Zaragoza, 1552.—Of this book I quote—e. g.—the following Spanish editions: Medina del Campo, 1553. Antwerp, 2 prints, 1554—Zaragoza, 1555,—and it is also contained in "Historiadores primitivos de Indias," by Andrés Gonzalez Barcia, Madrid, 1749, Vol. II.—and in "Historiadores primitivos de Indias," by Vedia, Madrid, 1852, Vol. I.—There is an Italian version, by Augustino de Cravaliz, Rome, 1556, ("La Histoirie generale delle Indie Occidentali. &c., &c."), and French translations published respectively in 1578, 1587, 1597, and 1605.—Finally, Juan Bautista de San Anton Muñoz Chimalpain Guauhlehuanitzin made a translation into the Mexican, or "Nahuatl" language, which C. M. Bustamante published at Mexico, in 1826.—I know of no English translation of the work.—It actually consists of two parts, the "Historia General," and the "Conquista de México."—The former contains a short, but fair, description of Yucatan, and the latter a report on Cortés' doings there and matters relating thereto.

BARTOLOMÉ DE LAS CASAS. Of the numerous (over forty) writings of the Bishop of Chiapas, I select only "Historia de las Indias," published

"at last," Madrid, 1875 and 1876, by the Marquis de la Fuensanta del Valle and Don José Sancho Rayon, in 5 vols. The 5th Vol. contains the famous "Apologética Historia."—Another publication of the "Historia de las Indias," though not as complete, has appeared in Mexico in 2 vols., as the first series of Sr. J. M. Vigel's "Biblioteca Mexicana," 1877 and 1878.—It does not contain the "Apologética."—Fragments of the latter are found in Lord Kingsborough's "Antiquities of Mexico," Vol. VIII.

"Brevissima relacion de la destruycion de las Indias," Sevilla, 1552. Of this polemic and strongly tinged memoir there are innumerable versions.—I know of Spanish publications besides the above, and those of London, 1812,—Philadelphia, 1821,—both due to Dr. De Mier.—Madrid, J. A. Llorente, 1822, and México, 1822.—Latin translations; Francfort, 1598; Oppenheim, 1614; Heidelberg, 1664.—French translations: Antwerp, 1579; Amsterdam, 1620; Rouen, 1630; Lyon, 1642; Paris, 1697; Amsterdam, 1698. (The last two contain each five papers of Las Casas), and Paris, 1822. "Oeuvres de Don Bartolomé de las Casas," by J. A. Llorente.—Of Italian Translations (with Spanish text), I allude to those of 1626. Venice.—1630, Id.:—1643, Id., and also of 1645.—There is a German translation of 1599.—Dutch translations: Amsterdam, 1610 and 1621, and 1663.—I know of but one English translation, which bears the title "A Relation of the first voyages and discoveries made by the Spaniards in America, &c., &c." London, 1699,—although Dr. Robertson mentions one of 1693.—Las Casas must be used with great caution.

DIEGO DE LANDA. "Relacion de las cosas de Yucatan."

Bishop Landa was born in 1524, and died in 1579; his work must therefore have been written between 1549 and the latter date. It was published by the Abbé Brasseur de Bourbourg, in 1860, with a French translation opposite to the Spanish text, and under the title of "Relation des choses de Yucatan."—Republished again in 1864, with some other matter.

The merits of Landa are certainly very great, but the real import of his so-called "A. B. C." ("De sus letras forme aqui un a. b. c." pp. 316—319), has been misunderstood and correspondingly misrepresented. The picture which Landa gives us of the customs and organization of the Mayas is completely at variance with some of his other statements. Much close attention is required.

"CARTAS DE INDIAS." Vol. I. Madrid, 1878.

These contain several letters and reports on Yucatan, from the 16th century. I only refer to one, a complaint of four Indian "gobernadores," dated 12 April, 1567, against the Bishop Diego de Landa, designating him as "principal author of all these evils and troubles . . ."

JOSEPH DE ACOSTA. "Historia natural y moral de Indias," Sevilla, 1590. I merely mention this author, without entering into further biblio-

graphical details about his work. It has been translated into many languages, and—in part or wholly—incorporated in many general collections of “Americana.” He says but little about Yucatan, still his book is indispensable to any one studying Yucatecan antiquities. I also advert here to his former publication, which is but little known: “De promulgatione Evangelij apud Barbaros, sive de procuranda Indorum salute,” Libros 6; printed in 1589.

GERÓNIMO DE MENDIETA. “Historia ecclesiástica Indiana,” written about 1590, but printed for the first time, by Sr. J. G. Icazbalceta, at Mexico, in 1870—Contains much and valuable information.—Mendieta has been extensively copied by Torquemada.

FRAY TORIBIO DE PAREDES, SURNAMED “MOTOLINIA.” “Historia de los Indios de Nueva-España,” written about 1540, but published in full only by Sr. Icazbalceta in Vol. I. of “Coleccion de Documentos, &c.”—Mentions Yucatan incidentally.—A large part of the work had been printed before in the “Documentos inéditos, &c.” under the title of “Ritos Antiguos, Sacrificios é Idolatrias de las Indias de la Nueva-España,”—also in Vol. IX. of Lord Kingsborough.—A Latin version, under the title of “De Moribus Indorum” may have existed once.

Yucatan is, furthermore, mentioned in many works of a more general character, embodying information gathered mostly from the sources already referred to. I do not, therefore, enter into any lengthy bibliographical sketches of them.

SIMON GRYNAEUS. “Novus Orbis,” 1532. Already noticed under Petrus Martyr.

PETRUS APIANUS. “Cosmographia,” 1539, 1545, 1561 (Dutch version), &c.

ABRAHAM ORTELIUS. “Theatrum orbis terrarum,” 1571, 1588, &c.

THOMASO PORCACCCHI. “L’ isole pio famose del Mondo,” 1572, 1576, 1590, &c., &c.

G. MERCATOR. “Atlas, six Cosmographical Meditations.” Duisburg, 1594.

CONRAD LOEW. “Meer oder See-Ansicht Buch.” Cologne, 1598.

SEBASTIAN MUNSTER. “Cosmographie,” 1575, &c.

ANDRÉ THEVET. “Les singularites de la France antarctique, autrement nommé Amérique, et de plusieurs Terres et Isles decouvertes de notre temps.”—Paris, 1558; Antwerp, 1558; in Italian, at Venice, 1561.

I forbear further mention of the polemic works on the origin of the American Indians,—and now turn to some writers whose works are probably lost, or at least not accessible, although there is positive evidence of their former existence.

FRAY GERÓNIMO ROMAN. “Republica Indiana”—certainly existed as late as 1630, or “República de las Indias Occidentales.”



FRAY ALONZO SOLANA. "Noticias Sagradas y profanas de las Antigüedades y Conversion de los Indios de Yucatan." (Written before 1600).

DON FRANCISCO MONTEJO. "Carta al Rey sobre la fundacion de la Villa de San Francisco de Campeche, y de la Ciudad de Mérida," 14 June, 1543. (Still at Sevilla, leg. 7. "Cartas de Indias").

In the above list I have not included any Grammar, Vocabulary, Sermonary, "Doctrina," &c., &c., for the use of the Indians of Yucatan, or written in the Maya language, of which several are known. In conclusion, I beg to add the Maya writing, entitled :

"SERIES OF KATUNES," published, with an English translation, by Mr. J. L. Stephens, in "Incidents of travels in Yucatan," and by Brasseur de Bourbourg, in "Rel. d. ch. de Y."

#### *Writers of the Seventeenth Century.*

ANTONIO DE HERRERA. "Historia general de los hechos de los Castellanos en las Islas y la Tierra firme del mar Océano," Madrid, 1601, 1615, 4 vols. folio. There are two other editions in the original language: Madrid, 1726 and 1730, and Antwerp, 1728.

Of this most important book, several translations have appeared, embodying either the whole or only a part.—Thus a French translation of the "Descripcion de las Indias Occidentales," appeared at Amsterdam in 1622 twice, and a French translation of the 1st, 2d and 3d Decades, at Paris, 1671.—A Latin version of the "Descripcion" was also published in 1622, by Colin, at Amsterdam, and a very unreliable English rendering by John Stephens, in 6 vols. 8°, appeared at London in 1725. Herrera is one of the most important authorities on every subject of which he treats.

GREGORIO GARCIA. "Orígen de los Indios del Nuevo Mundo é Indias Occidentales." 1st Edition, 1606; Second Edition, Madrid, 1729, by Barcia.—A very important and valuable work.

JUAN DE TORQUEMADA. "Los veinte y uno Libros Rituales y monarquia Indiana, con el orígen y guerras de los Indios occidentales." 1st Edition, Madrid, 1613; 2d Edition, Madrid, 1723. Barcia.

AUGUSTIN DE VETANCOURT. "Teatro Mexicano." México, 1698.—2d Edition, in "Biblioteca de la Iberia," México, 1870.—Treats of Yucatan incidentally, speaking of Cortés, &c.

The work consists properly of three books: the "Teatro," the "Crónica de la provincia del Santo Evangelio de México," and the "Menologio franciscano."

ANTONIO DE REMESAL. "Historia general de las Indias Occidentales, y particular de la gobernacion de Chiapas y Guatemala."—This book has



also another title: "Historia de la Provincia de San Vicente de Chyapa y Guatemala de la Orden de San Domingo."—Madrid, 1619 and 1620.—Treats of Yucatan also, following Las Casas generally. 'An important work.

BERNARDO LIZANA. (Lizama or Lizaba?) "Devocionario de Nuestra Señora de Itzmal, Historia de Yucatan é de conquista Espiritual," 1663, according to the Abbé Brasseur and Leon y Pinelo.—E. G. Squier speaks of two works: one "Historia de la Provincia de Yucatan, y su conquista Espiritual," Valladolid, 1633, and the other "Historia de Nuestra Señora de Izamal."—Whichever way may be right, there remains accessible as yet, but a fragment published in Spanish, with a French translation by the Abbé Brasseur in his "Relation des choses de Yucatan," 1864. The fragment is entitled: "Del principio y Fundacion destos cuyos omules deste Sitio y Pueblo de Ytzmal . . . ."—Lizana is of the highest importance and value, and it is much to be regretted that the *entire* book is of such difficult access.

DIEGO LOPEZ DE COGOLLUDO. "Historia de Yucatan."—1st Edition, Madrid, 1688; 2d Edition, Mérida, 1842; 3d Edition, 1867.—Cogolludo has always been regarded as the historian of Yucatan "par excellence." He is indeed indispensable for any study of Yucatan antiquities, but, like all other authors, he must never be implicitly followed. The closest criticism possible is absolutely required.

GIL GONZALEZ DÁVILA. "Teatro eclesiástico de la primitiva Iglesia de los Indios Occidentales." Madrid, 1649.

JUAN DIAZ DE LA CALLE. "Memorial y Resúmen breve de Noticias de las Indias Occidentales." Madrid, 1654.

These constitute the most important sources on Yucatan written during the 17th century. Nearly all of them are of *special* value, and we would call particular attention to Cogolludo, Lizana, Torquemada, Herrera, and Remesal. Among such authors, who wrote upon the subject and whose writings are not now accessible, I name here:

PEDRO SANCHEZ AGUILAR. "Relacion de las Cosas de Yucatan, y Informe contra los Idólatras del Obispado de Yucatan, &c." 1639.

FRANCISCO CÁRDENAS. "Relacion de la Conquista y Succesos de Yucatan," 1639. (If existing, probably in Spain).

NICOLÁS LIZARRAGA. "Representacion al Rey pidiéndole la Conquista de Itzá y Lacandon, con unas Noticias y Mapa de dichas Tierras."

NICOLÁS DE VALENZUELA. An account of the expedition against the Lacandones, written 1695, and comprising 402 pages.

I would further call attention to the land titles, such as Deeds, Grants, donations, &c., &c., in Yucatan, some of which go back to the

17th century. . These contain occasional references to the Indian settlements, some of which are certainly of great value and importance.

Finally, I refer to some general works, treating of Yucatan :

SAMUEL PURCHAS. "His Pilgrimage, &c., &c." London, 1613, 1614 and 1617. (This forms the 5th volume of Purchas' great works).—The great work of Purchas, also known as "Hackluytus Posthumous," appeared in 1625, and treats also of Yucatan.

O. DAPPER: "Die unbekannte neue Welt, oder Beschreibung des Welt-theils Amerikas, &c." Amsterdam, 1673. This is in fact but a translation of the following :

ARIAS MONTANUS. "De Nieuvre en Onbekende Weereld : of Beschryving van America en t' Zuid Lande." Amsterdam, 1671.

MATHIAS QUAD. "Enchiridion Cosmographicum : Dass ist, Ein Handbüchlein, der gantzen Welt gelegenheit, &c." Cologne, 1604 and 1608.

JOANNES PETRUS MAFFEI. ". . . historiarum Indicarum libri XVI., &c." Antwerp, 1605—frequently reprinted and translated.

JACOBUS VIVERUS. (Van de Vijvere). "Handbook : of Cort begrijp der Caerten Ende Beschryvinghen van allen Landen des Werelds." Amsterdam, 1609. (This is the 2d edition of an anonymous atlas).

CORNELIUS WYTFELICT ET ANTHOÏNE MAGIN. "Histoire universelle des Indes occidentales et orientales," Douay, 1611.

GASPARD ENS. "West und Ost-Indischer Lustgart. : . . . ." Cologne, 1618.

AUBERTUS MIRAEUS. "De statu religionis christianae . . . ." Cologne, 1619.

ATHANASIUS INGA. "West-Indische Spiegel, &c." Amsterdam, 1624.

JOHANN PHILIPP ABELIN. (Gottfriedt). "Neue Welt und Americanische Historien." Francfort, a. m. 1655.

A. O. EXQUEMELIN. "De Amerikaensche Zee-Roovers." Amsterdam, 1678. (Innumerable translations, &c. &c.).

EBERHARD WERNER HAPPEL. "Thesaurus Exoticorum." Hamburg, 1688. (Indifferent compilation).

I do not include in this hasty bibliographical list any linguistical works whatever,—or writings on the plants and medicinal herbs of Spanish-America. Purposely I omit also Antonio de Solis, whose history of the conquest of Mexico has a great literary, but hardly any scientific, value.

### *Writers of the Eighteenth Century.*

JUAN DE VILLAGUTIERRE Y SOTOMAYOR. "Historia de la Conquista y Reducciones de los Itzaes y Lacandones en la América Septentrional." Madrid, 1701. The first part only, composed of 10 books,—the second part may not have been completed,—at least it has remained unknown till now. The work is of the highest importance, especially for that part of Yucatan which has since hardly been explored.

ABBATE FRANCESCO SAVERIO CLAVIGERO. S. J. "Storia antica del Messico." Cesena, 1780, 1781. Spanish translations: London, 1826; México, 1844, id. 1853. English translation: London, 1787. German version: Leipzig, 1789. (The English copy by Sir Charles Cullen),—all these works mention Yucatan also.

ANTONIO DE ALCEDO. "Diccionario geográfico-histórico de las Indias Occidentales ó América. . . ." Madrid, 1786-1789. 5 vols. 4<sup>o</sup>.—English translation by G. A. Thompson. London, 1812-15.

JOSEPH ANTONIO DE VILLA-SEÑOR Y SANCHEZ. "Teatro Americano." México, 1746.—Of indirect value for Yucatan. (2 vols. folio).

J. LAFITAN. S. J. "Mœurs des sauvages américains, comparées aux mœurs des premiers temps." Paris, 1724. (There is a Dutch translation: "De Zeden de Wilden van Amerika," but I have no access to its date at present).—The best ethnological work previous to 1850.

ABBÉ GUILLAUME THOMAS RAYNAL. "Histoire philosophique et politique des établissements et du commerce des Européens dans les deux Indes." Paris, 1780, and other editions. English translation. Edinburgh, 1782.

WILLIAM ROBERTSON. "History of America." (Numberless editions and translations, all too well known to require special mention here).—Highly important.

CHEVALIER DE PAUW. "Recherches philosophiques sur les Américains." London, 1771. A strongly negative, and through its exaggerations in that direction, very injudicious work. Still it should be read attentively, as well as the rejoinder to it by Dom Pernetty.

GEMELLI CARRERI. (Properly belongs to the 17th century). "Giro del Mondo. . ." Naples, 1721.—French: "Voyage du Tour du Monde." Paris, 1719.

In the Library of the Cathedral of Mexico there still exists:

ARTURO O'NEIL. "Descripcion, Poblacion, y censo de la Provincia de Yucatan en la Nueva España." 1795.

We have also notice of the former existence of the following works, by:

FRAY ANDRÉS AVENDAÑO. "Diccionario de nombres de personas, idolos, danzas, y otras antiquedades de los Indios de Yucatan."

"Explicacion de varios Vaticinios de los antiguos Indios de Yucatan."

To take notice of all the geographical works, cyclopædias, &c., &c., published in the 18th century, and which contain notices of Yucatan,

would be a task exceeding far the time and limits of this list. It can easily be proved, however, that the works on especially Yucatecan topics are not numerous. This may be due, in part, to the rigorous exclusion of foreigners from Spanish America, and the consequent decline of intellectual activity towards the close of Spanish domination. The great collection of Juan Bautista Muñoz contains hardly anything on Yucatan.

*Writers of the Nineteenth Century.*

Here the number of publications increases so rapidly, that I cannot attempt to notice all. Besides, many of the authors are so well known that a mere mention of their names and the titles of their works will suffice. Periodicals containing papers on Yucatan, will be mentioned generally, but detailed reference to special articles can be given only in a few exceptional instances. The latest works will only be alluded to.

ALEXANDER VON HUMBOLDT. "Essai politique sur le royaume de la Nouvelle-Espagne." Paris, 1811, 2 vols. 4°.—Id. Paris, 1811, 5 vols. 8°.—Paris, 1825-27, 4 vols. 8°. Spanish translation: Madrid, 1818. English translation by John Black. London, 1811. Also translated into the German. References to Yucatan and its inhabitants may also be found in "Ansichten der Natur," (Notes), and even in "Kosmos."

FRIEDRICH VON WALDECK. "Voyage pittoresque et archéologique dans la Province de Yucatan." Paris, 1838. Splendid, but the drawings are mostly restorations,—therefore suspicious.

ANTONIO DEL RIO.

(The date of this report is: "Palenque 24 June, 1787," and I shall refer to it more particularly under the heading of "Chiapas,"—still, as it contains the report of the Franciscan, Thomas de Soza, on Yucatecan ruins, I place it here also).

"Description of the Ruins of an ancient City, discovered near Palenque, in the Kingdom of Gautemala, in Central America; translated from the original manuscript report of Captain Don Antonio del Rio." London, 1822.—There are two German translations: one "Huehuetlapallan, Amerika's grosse Urstadt, &c." Meiningen, 1824, and v. Minutoli's "Beschreibung einer alten Stadt in Guatemala." 1832.—A French translation, by D. B. Warden, in "Antiquités Méxicaines." Vol. II. and, finally, the Spanish original, in "Diccionario universal de Geografía, &c." Vol. VIII.—See also abstract in "Mosaico Mexicano." Vol. II.

LORENZO DE ZAVALA. Report on Uxmal, published in Vol. I. of "Antiquités Méxicaines."

JOHN L. STEPHENS. "Travels in Central America, Chiapas, and Yucatan." N. York, 1841.

"Incidents of travel in Yucatan." N. York, 1843.



F. CATHERWOOD. "Views of Ancient Monuments in Central America, Chiapas and Yucatan." N. York, 1844.

B. M. NORMAN. "Rambles in Yucatan." N. York, 1843.

CHARLES ST. JOHN FANCOURT. "The History of Yucatan." London, 1854.—Not of great value.

EMMANUEL VON FRIEDRICHSTHAL. Letter of 21 April, 1841, in "Registro Yucateco," Vol. II., and "Diccionario Universal," Vol. X.—"Les Monuments de l'Yucatan," in "Nouvelles Annales des Voyages," 1841, Vol. 92.—These papers are not very valuable.

JUAN GALINDO. Report on the antiquities of Lake Peten. "Antiquités Méxicaines," Vol. I.

MODESTO MENDEZ. Report on Tikal. "Zeitschrift für allgemeine Erdkunde," Vol. I.; 1853; also in Siver's "Mittelamerika" and other places. He is, as yet, the only authority on Tikal.

JULIUS FROEBEL. "Aus Amerika, Erfahrungen, Reisen, und Studien." Leipzig.—English translation: "Seven years travel in Central America." London, 1861.

CARL BARTHOLOMÄUS HELLER. "Reisen in Mexico." Leipzig, 1853.—Rather fair and moderate.

DÉSIRÉ CHARNAY, and VIOLETT LE DUC. "Cités et Ruines américaines." Paris, 1863.—Invaluable for its photographs.

ARTHUR MORELET. "Voyage dans l'Amérique centrale, l'Ile de Cuba, et la Yucatan." Paris, 1857. English translation by Mrs. E. G. Squier. "Itza, or the unexplored regions of Central America." London, 1871.—A very attractive and valuable work.

CHARLES ETIENNE BRASSEUR DE BOURBOURG. "Histoire des Nations Civilisées du Mexique et de l'Amérique centrale." Paris, 1857–9. "Rapport sur les Ruines de Mayapan et d'Uxmal," in "Archives de la Commission scientifique du Mexique," Vol. II.

"Relation des choses de Yucatan." Paris, 1864. (See Landa and Lizana).

"Quatre Lettres sur le Mexique." Paris, 1868.

"Manuscrit Troano." Paris, 1869–1870.

The late Abbé Brasseur was certainly the greatest of all modern travellers in Mexico and Central America, as far as extent of travel and long duration of stay are concerned. He knew those countries better, and had easier access to the natives, than any other similar traveller of this

century. His works are therefore, actual mines of wealth so far as old documents are concerned: he has collected and brought to light more manuscripts than any other student. But his honest zeal and unrestrained enthusiasm have led him into paths on which he has wandered lamentably astray. His works are indispensable, though very little of his own conclusions can be believed.

JUAN PIO PEREZ. "Cronología antigua de Yucatan," in "Relation des choses de Yucatan." 1864. Dictionario de la Lengua haya. Mérida, 1877.

MANUEL OROZCO Y BERRA. "Geografía de las Lenguas y Carta etnográfica de México." México, 1864.

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY, Worcester, Mass. *Proceedings* No. 44. Oct. 1865, page 63. Report of S. F. Haven, LL.D.

*Proceedings* No. 55. Oct. 1870, page 42. Report of S. F. Haven, LL.D.

*Proceedings* No. 56. April, 1871, page 7. Report of S. F. Haven, LL.D.

*Proceedings* No. 66. April, 1876, page 16. "The Mayas," by Stephen Salisbury, jr.

*Proceedings* No. 69. April, 1877, page 70. "Dr. Le Plongeon in Yucatan," by Stephen Salisbury, jr.

*Proceedings* No. 70. Oct. 1877, page 89. Report of S. F. Haven, LL.D.

*Proceedings* No. 71. April, 1878, page 71. "Terra Cotta Figure from Isla Mujeres," by Stephen Salisbury, jr. Page 91, "The Mexican Calendar Stone," by Philipp J. J. Valentini, Ph.D.

*Proceedings* No. 72. Oct. 1878, page 65. "Archæological Communication on Yucatan," by Augustus Le Plongeon, M.D. Page 77, "Notes on Yucatan," by Mrs. Alice D. Le Plongeon.

*Proceedings* No. 73. April, 1879, page 81. "Mexican Copper Tools," by Philipp J. J. Valentini, Ph.D. Page 113, "Letter from Dr. Augustus Le Plongeon."

*Proceedings* No. 74. Oct. 1879, page 71. "The Katunes of Maya History," by Philipp J. J. Valentini, Ph.D.

*Proceedings* No. 75. April, 1880, page 59. "The Landa Alphabet," by Philipp J. J. Valentini, Ph.D.

*Proceedings* No. 76. Oct. 1880, page 58. "Mexican Paper," by Philipp J. J. Valentini, Ph.D. Page 82, "Notes on the Bibliography of Yucatan and Central America," by Ad. F. Bandelier.

PHILIPP J. J. VALENTINI. "A new, and an old Map of Yucatan," in "Magazine of American History," 1879.

ALBERT GALLATIN. "Notes on the semi-civilized nations of Mexico, Yucatan, and Central America," in Vol. I. of "Transactions of the American Ethnological Society." N. York, 1845.

A. AUBIN. "Mémoire sur la peinture didactique et l'écriture figurative des anciens mexicaines." Paris, 1859-1861. (4 papers, published also in the "Revue américaine et Orientale." 1st Series, Vols. III., IV. and V.)

LÉON DE ROSNY. "Les écritures figuratives et hiéroglyphiques des peuples anciens et modernes." Paris, 1860.

"Mèmoire sur la Numération dans la Langue et dans l'écriture sacrée des anciens Mayas." (Compte-Rendu du "Congrès international des américanistes." 1875, Vol. II.)

"Essai sur le déchiffrement de l'écriture hiératique de l'Amérique Centrale." Paris, 1876.—Still continued.

FRANCISCO PIMENTEL. "Cuadro descriptivo y comparativo de las Lenguas Indígenas de México." México, 1862.

German translation, by Isidor Epstein. N. York, 1877.

HYACINTHE DE CHARENCY. "Recherches sur le Codex Troano." Paris, 1876.

D. GERONIMO CASTILLO. "Diccionario Historico, Biografico y Monumental de Yucatan." Mérida, 1866. 2 vols.

SERAPIO BAQUEIRO. "Ensayo Historico sobre las Revoluciones de Yucatan, 1840—1864." Mérida, 1870. 2 vols.

GUSTAV KLEMM. "Allgemeine Culturgeschichte der Menschheit." 10 vols. Leipzig, 1843—1852.

HEINRICH WÜTTKE. "Die Entstehung der Schrift."

EDWARD KING, LORD KINGSBOROUGH. "Antiquities of Mexico." 1831-1848, London, 9 vols. folio. Special value of plates.

DE LARENANDIERE. "Méxique et Guatemala," in "Univers pittoresque." Paris, 1843.

WM. H. PRESCOTT. "History of the Conquest of Mexico." (Too well known to need any remarks).

LEWIS H. MORGAN. "Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family." 1871.

(No. 218 of "Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge.")

"American aboriginal Architecture." Johnson's Encyclopedia, Vol. I.

"Ancient Society." New York, 1877.

HUBERT HOWE BANCROFT. "The Native Races of the Pacific States." 5 vols. N. York, 1875.

JOHN D. BALDWIN. "Ancient America." New York, 1872.

JOSÉ M. MELGAR Y SERRANO. "Exámen comparativo entre los Signos simbólicos, &c." Vera Cruz, 1872.

GUSTAV BRÜHL. "Die Culturvölker Alt-Amerika's." New York, Cincinnati, and St. Louis, 1876, 1877, and 1878.

ADOLPH BASTIAN. "Die Culturlander des alten America's." Berlin, 1878. 2 vols.

JOHN T. SHORT. "The North Americans of Antiquity." New York, 1879.

I further refer to papers in

"NOUVELLES ANNALES DES VOYAGES." 1843. By H. Ternaux-Compans.

"REGISTRO YUCATECO." Vols. I. and II.

And to the publications of

CRESCENCIO CARRILLO, Licenciado. (I have but glanced at one of his works).

ELIGIO ANCONA. "Historia de Yucatan." Mérida, 1875. 4 vols.

MANUEL LARRAINZAR. "Estudios sobre la Historia de América, sus Ruinas y Antigüedades." México, 1875. 5 vols.

On most of the works like those of Prescott, Bancroft, Baldwin, and others, I need not comment, having already expressed my opinion in "Art of War and Mode of Warfare of the Ancient Mexicans," and "Tenure and Distribution of Lands, and Customs with respect to Inheritance among the Ancient Mexicans."—(10th and 11th Reports of the Peabody Museum). In regard to Yucatecan paintings and carvings, I have expressed my convictions in "Sources for aboriginal history of Spanish America," Vol. 27 of the "Proceedings of the American Association for advancement of Science." 1878.

I repeat it, this attempt at a bibliography on Yucatecan antiquities is far from being complete,—many works of greater or less importance having probably been overlooked.

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## CHIAPAS.

THIS district or State contains the well known ruins of Palenque and Ocosingo. Still, but very few of the works hereafter mentioned relate to these places. It is therefore a bibliography of Chiapas and of its aborigines:—Zendal, Zoques, Zotzil, Chiapanecos, &c., and not a special bibliography of Palenque, &c., which I intend to present,—convinced that our lack of knowledge on the aborigines of Chiapas in general is a chief cause of our ignorance about the past history of these remains.

A large number of authors treating of Chiapas have already been noticed in regard to Yucatan, and in such cases I merely give the author's name, without the title or any other reference to his works, except when there are special reasons for it.



*Writers of the Sixteenth Century.*

DIEGO DE GODOY. "Relacion á Hernando Cortez, en que trata del Descubrimiento de diversas Ciudades i Provincias, i Guerra que tuvo con los Indios, &c., de la Provincia de Chamula."—First incorporated in the "Historia general" of Oviedo y Valdés, again in Barcia's "Historiadores primitivos de Indias," and in "Historiadores primitivos de Indias" of Vedia.—French translation by Ternaux-Compans, in 1<sup>st</sup>, "Recueil de piecés concernant la Méxique, &c."—Also Italian in "Ramusio," Vol. III.

GONZALO FERNANDEZ DE OVIEDO Y VALDÉS.

HERNAN CORTÉZ.—"Carta quinta."

FRANCISCO LOPEZ DE GOMARA.

BERNAL DIEZ DEL CASTILLO. (Eye-witness of the conquest of Chiapa.)

BARTOLOMÉ DE LAS CASAS. (Especially the "Apologética historia.")

GERÓNIMO DE MENDIETA. (Incidental mention.)

In the 2d "*Recueil de piecés concernant le Méxique*," of Ternaux-Compans, there is a complaint or letter of an anonymous author against Las Casas, dated Chiapas.—I also refer to "*Cartas de Indias*," Vol. I., containing several letters of Las Casas himself.

There is, in fact, but very little published about the antiquities of Chiapas, during the 16th century. I do not even mention any of the general collections which have an occasional reference to the name. But few vocabularies are noticed. Still we are informed of the following works, which may yet be in existence, or which at all events have existed once, and were written during the 16th century.

FRAY TOMÁS TORRE. "Historia de los principios de la Provincia de Chiapas y Guatemala, del Orden de Santo Domingo."

FRAY DOMINGO VICO. "Historia de los Indios, sus fábulas, supersticiones, costumbres, &c., &c."

The library of the "Museo Nacional" of the City of Guatemala, contains a number of fragments of a "*Historia de la Provincia de San Vicente Ferrer de Chiapas y Guatemala*," the third book of which is superscribed: "Isagoge histórico apologético general de todas las Indias."—There is no date nor name of author, but it can be conjectured that it was written in the 16th century.—Gregorio García also quotes: *Fray Estévan de Salazar*. "Discurs. Symb. apost." who in turn is said to refer to a book entitled "*Historia i Relacion de la Teología de los Indios Mexicanos*," said book being lost in a shipwreck, 1564.

*Writers of the Seventeenth Century.*

GREGORIO GARCIA.

ANTONIO DE HERRERA.

JUAN DE TORQUEMADA.

ANTONIO DE REMESAL.

AUGUSTIN DE VETANCOURT.

GIL GONZALEZ DÁVILA.

JUAN DIAZ DE LA CALLE.

AUGUSTIN DÁVILA-PADILLA. "Historia de la Fundacion y Discurso de la Provincia de Santiago de México." 1st edition, Madrid, 1596; 2d edition, Brussels, 1625.—Mentions Chiapas only in connection with the biography of Las Casas.—The first edition has almost disappeared, so that it is practically a book of the 17th century.

AUGUSTIN CANO. "Historia de la Provincia de Predicadores de San-Vicente de Chiapas y Guatemala."—Fragment of a MS. at the "Museo Nacional" of Guatemala.

The following books are known to have existed once :

FRAY JUAN ZAPATA Y SANDOVAL. "Cartas al Conde de Gomera . . . sobre los Indios de Chiapas."

"Cartas al Rey sobre el Estado Dulce Diócesis de Chiapas."

I make no mention of the compilations and general collections containing references to Chiapas. They are not numerous.—Gregorio García in his book, "Origen de los Indios," has probably the earliest mention of the ruins of Ocosingo, and even, perhaps, some indication about those of Palenque.—Cortez who, accompanied by Bernal Diez, passed very near Palenque in 1525, did not take any notice of the pueblo,—which at that time was certainly not inhabited.

#### *Writers of the Eighteenth Century.*

NUÑEZ DE LA VEGA. "Constituciones diocesanas del Obispado de Chiapas." Rome, 1702.

Important for its reports on the idolatrous rites and the traditions of the aborigines.

LORENZO BOTURINI BERNADUCCI. "Idea de una Nueva Historia General de la America Septentrional." Madrid, 1746.

Valuable for his mention of the Calendar of Chiapas.

MARIANO FERNANDEZ DE VEYTIA Y ECHEVERRIA. "Historia del Orígen de las gentes que poblaron la America Septentrional que llaman la Nueva-España, con noticia de los primeros que establecieron la monarquía que en ella floreció de la nacion Tolteca."—This work has been published as lately as 1836, at Mexico, by C. F. Ortega, under the title of "Historia antigua de México."—It contains notices of the calendar of Chiapas.

F. X. CLAVIGERO. S. J. (ABBATE.)

ANTONIO DE ALCEDO.

JOSEPH ANTONIO DE VILLA-SEÑOR Y SANCHEZ.

FRANCISCO XIMENEZ. "Crónica de la Provincia de Chiapas y Guatemala,"—of which part of the 7th book is at the "Museo Nacional" of Guatemala.

"Historia de la Provincia de predicadores de San Vicente de Chiapas y Guatemala." Written about 1720,—and possibly the same work as the above.—According to Brasseur de Bourbourg, 3 volumes which did not suit or fit together and were the remnants of two MSS. copies of the original, existed at the University of Guatemala in 1855.

TORIBIO COSIO. "Relacion histórica de la Sublevacion y Pacificacion de la Provincia de los Tzendales." (May still exist at Mexico.)

FRANCISCO VASQUEZ. "Crónica de la Provincia del Ill'mo Nombre de Jesús, del Orden de San Francisco de Guatemala."—Guatemala, 1714 and 1716, 2 vols.—The library of Guatemala ("Museo Nacional") still contains an anonymous MS. of 13 Leaves, "Notas y Advertencias" to the above work.—Whether the "Crónica" itself is at Guatemala, I am unable to say. The book is very scarce. Mr. Squier owned the first volume only.

Anonymous. "Relacion de la Sublevacion de los Zendales, en el año de 1712." MS. Perhaps still at the city of Guatemala.

RAMON DE ORDOÑEZ Y AGUIAR. "Historia de la Creacion del Cielo y de la Tierra, conforme al sistema de la gentilidad americana." MS. at the "Museo Nacional" of the city of Mexico.—Very important for the traditions of Chiapas.

"Memoria relativa á las ruinas de Nachán, en las inmediaciones del pueblo de Santo-Domingo del Palenque." MS. formerly belonged to Brasseur de Bourbourg. It was written about 1784, and is the first authentic report on the celebrated ruins.

D. NÁXERA. "Vida portentosa del V. P. Fr. Antonio Margil de Jesús." México, 1753.

H. VILAPLANA. "Vida portentosa del americano septentrional apóstol Antonio Margil de Jesús . . . ." México, 1763. (Margil was one of the earliest missionaries in Chiapas.)

*Documents relative to the explorations of Palenque.*

Besides the "Memoria" of Ordoñez already quoted, which first directed attention to the ruined pueblo, there exist the following documents:

JOSÉ DE ESTACHERIA. "Expediente sobre el descubrimiento de una gran Ciudad en la provincia de Chiapas, distrito de Guatemala." 28 Nov. 1784. (Archives of the royal Academy, at Madrid).—It is directed to the lieutenant "Alcalde mayor" of Chiapas, at S<sup>to</sup> Domingo del Palenque, directing him to survey the ruins.

JOSEF ANTONIO CALDERON. "Informe, fecho en 15 de Diciembre de 1784." Description of the ruins. MSS. translated and published by Brasseur in "Ruines de Palenque," 1866.

ANTONIO BERNASCONI. Other reports on the ruins, accompanied by plans and drawings. MS. in Spain. Date, 13 June, 1578.

JUAN BAUTISTA MUÑOZ. Letter to the Marquis de Sonora, written 1786. Translated by Brasseur: "Ruines de Palenque." 1866.

ANTONIO DEL RIO. "Descripcion del terreno y poblacion antigua nuevamente descubierta en las inmediaciones del pueblo del Palenque."—I have already referred to it under "Yucatan." Whether the plates of the English edition are genuine, is yet doubtful.

I must add here, that until about 1820, the state of Chiapas pertained, not to Mexico, but to the captain-generalcy of Guatemala, and consequently all the authorities treating of the latter country may be supposed to contain information about Chiapas also.

### *Writers of the Nineteenth Century.*

(Explorations of Palenque.)

JUAN GARRIDO. [?] *Said* to have written about Palenque in 1805.

GUILLERMO DUPAIX AND LUCIANO CASTAÑEDA. "Relacion hecha al Rey, sobre tres expediciones, &c." in 1805, 1806, and 1807. They visited Palenque late in 1807.—Their reports and drawings were first published in 1831, in Vols. IV. and V. of Lord Kingsborough's "Antiquities of Mexico," and an English translation in Vol. VI.—A French and Spanish version, together with all the plates, is contained in "Antiquités mexicaines." Paris, 1834.—The drawings of Castañeda are by far the most complete which we have, although they disagree with many of those of other travellers. This disagreement will be referred to hereafter.

JUAN GALINDO. "Palenque et autres lieux circonvoisins." Letter dated 27 April, 1831, in "Antiquités mexicaines," Vol. I.—English translation in the "Literary Gazette," No. 769, London, 1831.—Col. Galindo visited Palenque himself, but he is so enthusiastic that all his statements and even measurements should be taken with many allowances.

FRIEDRICH VON WALDECK. "Description des ruines de Palenque," with 56 large plates, in "Monuments anciens du Mexique." Paris, 1866.—M. de Waldeck had spent two years at Palenque (1832-1834),—his plates are magnificent, but they restore far too much.

JOHN L. STEPHENS. "Travels in Central America, Chiapas, and Yucatan." N. York, 1841.

"Incidents of Travel in Yucatan." 1843.

F. CATHERWOOD. (See Yucatan.)

ARTHUR MORELET. (See Yucatan.) Visited P. in 1846.

DÉSIRÉ CHARNAY. (See Yucatan.) In 1858.

CHARLES ETIENNE BRASSEUR DE BOURBOURG. "Ruines de Palenque," in "Monuments anciens du Mexique," 1866, Paris.—Valuable for the historical introductions and for the numerous references to authorities.



The historical essay is a confused and disorderly jumble, barely readable.—The Abbé visited Palenque subsequently—in 1871.

To these reports I finally add :

CHARLES RAU. "The Palenque tablet in the United States National Museum," Washington, D. C., 1879. (No. 331 of "Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge.")

Aside from the numberless historical, archæological, and ethnological works, several of which I have already noticed under "Yucatan," I beg to refer to some specifically Central-American and Mexican sources treating of Chiapas in general, with some occasional mention of Palenque and of Ocosingo, or even without any particular reference to them.

DOMINGO JUARROS. "Compendio de la Historia de Guatemala," 1808—1818.—English translation by J. Bailly, London, 1823.

FRANCISCO DE PAULA GARCIA PELAEZ. "Memorias para la Historia del antiguo Reyno de Guatemala." 3 vols. Guatemala, 1851.—An excellent work, full of valuable and reliable information.

HYACINTHE DE CHARENCY. "Le Mythe de Votan." Alençon, 1871.—Ingenious speculations.

FÉLIX CABRERA. "Teatro crítico-americano."—Published with the different editions of Del Río.—Abstract from Nuñez de la Vega, with more or less hypothetical speculations about the origin, life, and doings of "Votan" in Chiapas.

MARIANO ROBLES DOMINGUEZ DE MAZARIEGOS. "Memoria histórica de la provincia de Chiapas . . ." Cadiz, 1813.

EMILIO PINEDA. "Descripción Geográfica del Departamento de Chiapas y Soconusco." In the "Boletín de la Sociedad de geografía y Estadística de México." Vol. III. Also, México, 1845.

JOSÉ DE GARAY. "Reconocimiento del Istmo de Tehuantepec." México, 1844.

FRANCISCO PIMENTEL. "Cuadro descriptivo de las Lenguas indígenas, &c." (See Yucatan.)

MANUEL OROZCO Y BERRA. "Geografía de las Lenguas." (See Yucatan.)

In the imperfect list herewith submitted I have frequently included works of which nothing is known save that they once existed. This is done for the purpose of calling attention to them, should any one of them be found in the hands of book owners and collectors here or abroad. Libraries like those of Mr. Lenox or of Mr. John Carter-Brown

should be searched for such writings, and copies at least should be secured. The plan of Palenque, made by Bernasconi, in 1785, should also be copied without delay. A copy can be obtained from Madrid, by application to the Royal Academy of Spain.

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## GUATEMALA. (Copan and Chiapas included.)

### *Writers of the Sixteenth Century.*

HERNAN CORTÉS. (4th and 5th letter. Casual mention.)

PEDRO DE ALVARADO. Seventeen letters to Hernan Cortés, the first of which is dated: Utlatlan, 11 April, 1524. Only two of those letters were printed, the remaining fifteen are yet in MSS. Mr. E. G. Squier owned MS. copies of the whole, but whither they went at his sale I do not know. The two which were published (11 April and 28 July), appeared in the following works: "Delle navigationi et viaggi, &c." by Gian Battista Ramusio. Venice, Italian version. The "due lettere de Pietro d' Alvarado," are contained in the 3d volume, editions of 1556, 1565, and 1606.

OVIEDÓ. "Historia y natural de las Indias." Vol. III. Written between 1535 and 1557, but printed only 1853. Madrid.

ANDRÉS GONZALEZ BARCIA. "Historiadores primitivos de Indias." Madrid, 1749, Vol. I.

H. TERNAUX-COMPANS. "Premier recueil de pièces relatives à la conquête du Mexique." Paris, 1838.—French translation.

ENRIQUE DE VEDIA. "Historiadores primitivos de Indias." Madrid, 1852. (Vol. I.)

These letters, from the conqueror of Guatemala, are very important, and the 15 unpublished ones should be printed at the earliest possible moment.

FRANCISCO LOPEZ DE GOMARA. (Quite full, and mentions the earliest author giving the etymology—or rather, an etymology—of the word "Cuauhtemallan."—This is the earliest *printed* notice about it.)

GONZALO FERNANDEZ DE OVIEDO Y VALDÉS. (Has other information besides Alvarado's letters.)

BARTOLOMÉ DE LAS CASAS. (Very important, particularly on the interior provinces pertaining or adjacent to his bishopric of Chiapas.)

GIROLAMO BENZONI. (Visited Guatemala himself, and although brief, he still is valuable.)

PETRUS MARTYR, AB ANGLERIA. (Brief notice, in connection with the movements of Alvarado, in the last decade, Cap's V. and X.—earliest reports on Guatemala in general, received in Europe.)

FRAY TORIBIO DE PAREDES, SURNAMED MOTOLINIA. (Not only the "Historia de las Indias de Nueva-España," contains incidental reference to Guatemala,—but there is a trace of a "Viaje á Guatemala."—Yet the latter is still in doubt.)

FRAY GÉRONIMO DE MENDIETA.

BERNAL DIEZ DEL CASTILLO. (Although a citizen of Spanish Guatemala, his reports are not very full.)

"REQUETO DE PLUSIEURS CHEFS D' ATITLAN." Addressed, under date of 1 Feb'y, 1571, to Philip II. Published in French, by H. Ternaux-Compans, in 1<sup>st</sup> "Recueil de piécés concernant le Méxique," 1838.—It is valuable.

PASCUAL DE ANDAGOYA. "Relacion de los sucesos de Pedrarias Dávila en las provincias de Tierra firme ó Castilla del oro, y de lo ocurrido en el descubrimiento de la mar del Sur y costas del Perú y Nicaragua." About 1545.—Original at Sevilla, printed for the first time by Don Martin Fernandez de Navarrete, in 1829. Vol. III. of "Coleccion de los Viages y Descubrimientos, &c."—English translation, by C. R. Markham, published under the title of "The Narrative of Pascual de Andagoya," by the Hackluyt Society, Vol. 34, 1865.—Slight mention is made of Guatemala.

ALONZO DE ZURITA. (Çorita?) "Breve y Sumaria Relacion de los Señores, y maneras y diferencias que habia de ellos en la Nueva-España. . . ."—This important official document, written about 1560, has been published but once in Spanish,—in Vol. II. of "Coleccion de Documentos Inéditos relativos al Descubrimiento, Conquista y Colonizacion de las Posesiones Españolas en América y Oceanía," 1865.—The text is, however, imperfect.—A better original had been used by Ternaux-Compans for his French translation: "Rapport sur les différentes classes de la Nouvelle-Espagne."—Zurita is very important on the organization of the Quiché tribes of Guatemala, and he has been almost verbally copied by Herrera.

DIEGO GARCIA DE PALACIO. "Carta dírígida al Rey de España," 1576, March 8th.—The chief importance of this report, in connection with this list, consists in its being the earliest notice of the ruins of Copan. Herrera made extensive use of Palacio's writings, but he omitted that part which referred to Copan because it was not confirmed (at his time) by any other testimony. The first publication of Palacio was by Ternaux-Compans, in 1840, "Recueil de Documents et mémoires originaux sur l' histoire des possessions espagnoles, &c."—French translation: fluent, but not always reliable. A Spanish copy appeared in 1866, in Vol. VII. of "Coleccion de Documentos Inéditos . . . ."—A Spanish copy, with English translation, by E. G. Squier, in 1860, as Vol. I. of his "collection of rare and original documents, relations, &c.,

&c."—Finally. Dr. Alexander von Frantzius published a German translation in 1873, under the heading of "San Salvador and Honduras im Jahre, 1576,"—which is particularly valuable on account of the notes by the translator, as well as by Dr. C. H. Berendt.—Palacio must have visited Copan about 1576, and the fact is established through him that its buildings were in ruins at the time of the Spanish conquest, that is about 1530, and no distinct traditions of their origin left.

Passing over all general collections and geographical works, &c., &c., of the sixteenth century, I will mention :

"*CARTAS DE INDIAS.*" (See Yucatan.) and the miscellaneous collections like "*Coleccion de Documentos inéditos para la Historia de España,*" begun by Navarrete, Miguel Salvá, and Pedro Saing de Barada, in 1842, and still continued.

"*Coleccion de Documentos relativos al Descubrimiento, Conquista y Colonizacion de las Posesiones Españolas en América y Oceanía.*" Commenced in 1864, and still continued.

(These collections contain chiefly documents from the "Real Archivo de Indias," and although they are of recent date, the papers are all from the earlier times of Spanish conquest and settlement.)

The library of the "Museo Nacional" at the City of Guatemala (la Nueva), contains the following :

RAFAEL ARÉVALO. "*Libro de Actas del Ayuntamiento de la Ciudad de Guatemala.*" (Town book or record, from 1524 to 1530.)

"*Coleccion de Documentos antiguos del Archivo del Ayuntamiento de la Ciudad de Guatemala.*"—(Both bound in one volume and published in 1856 and 1857.)

MANUSCRIPTS. "*Libro segundo del Cabildo de la Ciudad de Santiago de la Provincia del Guatemala.*" (1530 to 1541.)

"*Libro tercero de Cabildo.*" (1541 to 1543.)

"*Historia de la Provincia de San Vicente de Chiapa y Guatemala.*" (Fragmentary.)

FRANCISCO HERNANDEZ, CACIQUE OF SOLOLA. (FRANCISCO ERNANDEZ ARANA XAHILA.) "*Memorial,*" written about 1582. — Original owned by Brasseur de Bourbourg, who quotes it under the heading of "*Memorial de Tèc-Pan-Atitlan.*"—It is one of the most important and valuable documents existing on aboriginal topics,—embodying, as it does, a statement of the conquest of Guatemala, written by a native in his own language.

"*Documentos antiguos de la casa de Ixcuinte-Nèhàib.*"

In addition to these, I must lay particular stress on the "territorial titles" land grants, cessions, leases, or deeds to lands, still held in Guatemala,—or to whatever (if anything) may be left of their records.—Such papers contain frequently interesting, if not important references to antiquities, traditions and historical facts, also to the customs and manners of the Indians.



Among the other authorities still perhaps existing, or known to have existed, though of difficult access, I refer to those below, avoiding, of course, Linguistical works, unless they are of direct bearing on other subjects also.

JUAN ESTRADA DE RAVAGO (or Juan Strada Salvago.) "Descripcion de las Provincias de Costa Rica, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua y Tierra-firme y Cartagena, &c., &c." 6 May, 1572. (MS. copy of it belonging to E. G. Squier.)

"Memorial de las advertencias i cosas que la C. Cath, R'l M. del Rey i su Re. Consejo de Indias manda hacer, &c., &c." (MS. of E. G. Squier.) 1579.

FRANCISCO MONTERO DE MIRANDA. "Relacion dirigida al Ill'mo Señor Palacio, &c., &c., sobre la provincia de la Verapaz ó Tierra de Guerra." 1575. (MS. of E. G. Squier.)

FRAYLES: FRANCISCO VIANA, LUCAS GALLEG0, and GUILLERMO CADENA. "Relacion de la provincia y tierra de la Vera Paz," 1574. (MS. of Squier.)

FRAY TOMÁS CÁRDENAS. "Representaciones al Rey sobre el Estado de los Pueblos de la Vera-Paz."

FRAY TOMÁS CASTELAR. "Tratado de los Idolos de Guatemala." "Triunfos de los Mártires del Orden de Predicadores en las Indias." Printed 1580.

FRAY TOMÁS TORRE. "Historia de los principios de la Provincia de Chiapas y Guatemala, del Orden de Santo Domingo."—Written prior to 1567.

FRAY DOMINGO VICO. "Historia de los Indios, sus Fábulas, Supersticiones, Costumbres, &c."

"Teologia para los Indios, en Lengua de Vera Paz." 4 vols. (Still existing.)

GERÓNIMO ROMAN. "República Indiana." (See Yucatan.)

This list is certainly far from complete, and it may be that among the vocabularies, grammars, and such works now lost, although we know of their former existence, there were some,—perhaps even many,—which contained historical and ethnological matter of great value.—It is hardly possible to avoid all allusions to such subjects in any work on linguistics. But the number of books of that class is too great for the purpose of the present list.

#### *Writers of the Seventeenth Century.*

AUGUSTIN DAVILA-PADILLA. (See Yucatan. First edition appeared in 1595.)

GREGORIO GARCIA. (Plain and well informed, though brief.)

JUAN DE TORQUEMADA. (Important on organization and government, also myths.)

ANTONIO DE HERRERA. (Very full and important.)

ANTONIO DE REMESAL. (Not as full on antiquities as might be expected.)

AUGUSTIN DE VETANCOURT. (Very slight mention.)

ENRICO MARTINEZ. (Casual mention.)

GIL GONZALEZ DÁVILA.

JUAN DIEZ DE LA CALLE.

FERNANDO DE ALBA IXTLILXOCHITL. "Relaciones históricas."—Of these, the thirteenth, "De la Venida de los Españoles," is of particular interest for Guatemala,—since it relates in detail Cortés' trip to Honduras. The "Relaciones" are printed in full in Vol. IX. of Lord Kingsborough's Collection,—the 13th however, was published under the title of "Horribles Crueldades de los Conquistadores de México," as appendix to Sahagun's "Hist-general," Vol. III., in 1829. From this, M. Ternaux made a French translation, published by him in 1838, as "Cruautés horribles des Conquéranants du Mexique,"—in the first series of his "Voyages et Mémoires originaux, &c."

"Historia de los Chichimecos, o' reyes antiguos de Tezcuco."—Casual mention of Guatemala.—Published in Kingsborough, Vol. IX., and translated by Ternaux and printed in French as "Histoire des Chichimèques ou des anciens rois de Tezcuco," in 1840.—(2d Series.)—Besides these, there are found references to Guatemala in the "Sumaria Relacion, de los Toltecas." (Kingsb. IX.)—Ixtlilxochitl, though full of details, is always a very suspicious source.—He is the representative of *one tribe exclusively*.

FRANCISCO ANTONIO FUENTES Y GUZMAN. "Recordacion florida; Discurso histórico, natural, material, militar, y político del reyno de Guatemala." MS. of 1690. Original in the municipal archives of the city of Guatemala. Copy at the "Museo Nacional."—Fuentes is like Ixtlilxochitl—both have the same tendency to extol their native tribes—still both must be carefully studied and critically examined.—A publication of Fuentes, well and judiciously annotated, would be highly useful.

FERNANDO ESPINO. "Historia de la reduccion y conversion de la Provincia de Taguzgalpa, con la Vida de los tres Mártires."—Printed at Guatemala, 1674.—Whether and where it still exists I do not know.

LIONEL WAFER. "A new Voyage and description of the Isthmus of America."—London, 1699.

FRAY THOMAS GAGE. "New survey of the West Indies." (A work which is looked upon with great suspicion, because the author, although he evidently went to Guatemala from Mexico, misrepresents a great many facts. Still he cannot be overlooked.)—This book appeared first prior to 1676.—Robertson quotes an English edition of 1677, and that of 1699 is the fourth edition. There are French editions of 1676, 1694-5, 1699

1720, 1721. Dutch of 1682, 1700. German of 1693. Spanish, 1838.—Yet this list is evidently still incomplete, as further material is out of my reach.

ANTONIO DE LEON Y PINELO. “Tratado de Confirmaciones Reales de Encomiendas, Oficios, y casos en que se requieron para las Indias Occidentales.” Madrid, 1630.—This work is one of the best on many vital points of Spanish administration,—and since the latter is so intimately connected with the past and present condition of the aborigines as to make its knowledge absolutely necessary,—it must be attentively studied.—I shall, for this reason, add below the books of Solórzano:

“Epítome de la Biblioteca Oriental i Occidental, Náutica y Geográfica.” Madrid, 1629. 2d Edition, by Barcia, 1737 and 1738. (Important bibliographically.)

“Relación que en el Consejo Real de las Indias hizo el Licenciado . . . ., sobre la Pacificacion de las Provincias del Manché y Lacandon,” 1639. MS. of E. G. Squier.

JUAN DE SOLÓRZANO-PEREYRA. “Disputationem de Indiarum jure, sive de mixta Indiarum Occidentalium inquisitione, acquisitione, et retentione tribus libris comprehensam.” (This is the title of the first volume only, the second volume bears the heading “De Indiarum gubernatione, &c.”) Madrid, 1629–1639.—2d edition, 1672.

“Política Indiana.” Madrid, 1648.—Subsequent editions, 1703, 1736–39, 1776.

The latter work is but a Spanish transcription or version of the first. The importance of both is in their clear “exposé” of the principles of right and law, according to which the Spanish Indies were governed.—We are thereby enabled to judge of the true relations existing between the conquering and conquered races, and to detect, how far the original condition of the latter was understood or misunderstood by the former—(and misrepresented?)

The “Museo Nacional,” at Guatemala, has the following manuscripts besides those already mentioned:

“Historia de la Provincia de Predicadores de San Vicente de Chiapa y Guatemala.”—A fragment, possibly by *Fray Augustin Cano*.

“Solicitud que el Padre Fray Augustin Cano hizo al Ill<sup>mo</sup> Sr Obispo de Guatemala . . . . que se hallaba de visita en el pueblo de Cajabon pidiendo amparo para reducir á los indios Choles.”

“Informé dado al Rey por el *Padre Fray Augustin Cano* sobre la entrada que por la parte de la Verapaz se hizo al Peten en 1695.”

“Suma de los Capítulos generales y principales, ordenaciones, &c., de la Provincia de Predicadores de Chiapa y Guatemala.” by *Fray Lope de Montoya*.

“Vidas de varios Padres de la Provincia de Chiapa y Guatemala del Orden de Indiadores,” by *Fray Antonio de Molina*.

Whether the "Noticia ó Relacion de los Padres de la Orden de Predicadores que florecian en la Provincia de los Zoques" (anonymous MS.), belongs to the 17th century, I am unable to say.

Notice of the following books or writings has been communicated to me from various sources :

FRAY ANTONIO AROCHENA. "Catálogo y noticia de los Escritores del Orden de San Francisco de la Provincia de Guatemala." (A very important bibliographical composition, to judge from its plan.)

FRAY ESTEVAN AVILES. "Historia de Guatemala desde los tiempos de los Indios, hasta la fundacion de la provincia de los franciscanos; poblacion de aquellas tierras, propagacion de los Indios, sus ritos, ceremonias, policía, y Gobierno." (Said to have been printed at Guatemala in 1663.)

FRAY SALVADOR CIPRIANA. "Libro de los Idolos de la Provincia de Zacatula."

"Hechos de los Padres Fray Levis Cancer, Fray Bartolomé de las Casas, y Fray Pedro de Angulo, en la predicacion del Evangelio."

"Historia de la Entrada de los Españoles en Zacatula."

NICOLAS LIZARRAGA. (See Yucatan.)

FRAY MELCHOR DE JESUS LOPEZ. "Relacion de la Conversion á la Fé de los Indios de Salamanca." 1690.

"Relacion de la Pacificacion de los Indios de Vera-Paz."

FRAY PEDRO SOTOMAYOR. "Informacion de los Varones Ilustres del Orden de San Francisco del Reino de Guatemala."

DIEGO DE UNZUETA. "Relacion de Guatemala,"—handed to Juan Diez de la Calle in 1648.

NICOLAS DE VALENZUELA. (Wrote about the expedition against Lacandon,—in 1695.)

FRAY ESTEVAN VERDELETE. "Noticias de la Provincia de Teguzigalpa." (Written between 1593 and 1612.)

JUAN ZAPATA Y SANDOVAL. (See Chiapas.)

FRAY PEDRO DAZA. "Memorias históricas de la fundacion y predicacion de los Religiosos de la Merced de la Redencion de cautivos en Guatemala."

FRAY JOSÉ MORERA. "Noticias de la Provincia de Guatemala, con un Tratado de la Mision y Martirio de los P. P. Misioneros, Verdelete y Montragudo." (MS. said to be at Guatemala.)

FRAY PABLO REBULLIDA. "Informe á la Audiencia de Guatemala sobre el estado actual de la Cristiandad de la Provincia de Talamanca." 1697.

"Cartas sobre el caracter de los Indios Terrabas, Talamancas, y Changenes."

FRAY PEDRO DE URTIAGA. "Diario del Viaje de los cinco Misioneros desde Querétaro hasta Guatemala."—Printed in 1694, at Guatemala.

ALONZO DUARTE. "Relacion de lo que Yo (A. D.) vecino desta ciudad de Santiago de Guatemala entendí y vide quando D. Francisco Val-



verde vino a sondar el puerto de Cavallos." 1605. MS. pertaining to E. G. Squier.

These are certainly not all,—perhaps only a minority of the documents relating to Guatemala,—which originated during the 17th century. In regard to the ruins of Copán,—Fuentes is perhaps (because a number of the last enumerated authors I have not seen) the only one who mentions its ruins, and even gives an enthusiastic description of them,—but Torquemada as well as Herrera relates the tradition of Comizahual, which also relates to Copán. The latter place is, besides, commonly regarded as belonging properly to *Honduras*, and only of late has been added to Guatemala. I add the following, although they are of scarcely any value for the purpose in view:

JOSÉ MONROY. "Estado del Convento de Guatemala, del Orden de nuestra Señora de la Merced." Printed, 1667.

DIEGO RODRIGUEZ DE RIBAS. "Disertacion canónica sobre los justos motivos que representa el Reyno de Guatemala, para que el Consejo se serva de erigir en Metrópoli ecclesiástica la S. Iglesia Catedral, &c." Printed, 1660.

*Writers of the Eighteenth Century.*

ANTONIO DE ALCEDO.

F. X. CLAVIGERO. (Very slight mention.)

The following MSS. are yet at Guatemala "Museo Nacional."

PEDRO CORTÉS Y LARRAZ. "Descripcion geográfico moral de la Diócesis de Guatemala." 1768-69.

FRAY FRANCISCO XIMENEZ. "Historia de la Provincia de San Vicente de Chiapa y Guatemala de la Orden de los Predicadores." 5 vols.

JOSÉ SANCHEZ. "Apuntaciones para la Historia de Guatemala."

FERNANDO VELASQUEZ DE GUZMAN. "Relacion de los Obispos de Guatemala."

There is, besides, a MS. :

"Efemérides de Guatemala desde su fundacion hasta la ruina de 1773."  
—Anonymous.

Printed works :

FRAY ISIDRO FÉLIX DE ESPINOSA. "El Peregrino Septentrional Atlante." (Life of Fray Antonio Margil.) México, 1737.

FRAY CÁRLOS CADENA. "Breve descripcion de la Noble Ciudad de Santiago de los Caballeros de Guatemala, &c." Mexico, 1774.—2d Edition, Guatemala, 1858.

JUAN DE VILLAGUTIERRE Y SOTOMAYOR. (On Vera Paz.)

FRANCISCO NUÑEZ DE LA VEGA. (On Chiapas.)

TORIBIO COSIO. (In the University Library of Mexico.)

FRAY JOSÉ DIEZ. "Noticia de las Misiones de Guatemala."

FRAY ILDEFONSO JOSEPH FLORES. "Teología de los Indios."

FRAY FRANCISCO VASQUEZ. (See Chiapas.)

FRAY FRANCISCO XIMENEZ. (See Chiapas.)

It is said that Ximenez wrote two large historical works, one in five volumes, of which but three were finished.—This is a mistake, the entire edition of five volumes is still at Guatemala. The other work, secured by Dr. Scherzer, bears the title “Las Historias del Origen de los Indios de esta Provincia de Guatemala . . . .,” and published by him at Vienna in 1857. (Anonymous MS. said to exist at Guatemala.)

“Informe del Provincial de la Orden de Santo Domingo Guatemala, tocante á los negocios de la Vera-Paz.” 1724.

“Relacion de la Sublevacion de los Zendales.” 1712.

ANTONIO RODRIGUEZ CAMPAS. “Diario Histórico de Guatemala.”

FRAY JUAN CARTAJENA. “La Sta Iglesia de Guatemala, madre fecundísima de hijos ilustrissimos.” México, 1747.

RAMON ORDOÑEZ Y AGUIAR. (See Chiapas.) At Mexico.

(A number of the above works may be lost.)

### *Writers of the Nineteenth Century.*

All general works, archæological, historical, and geographical, are left out. I even omit, as abundantly known, Kingsborough, Bancroft, Baldwin, Short, the “Antiquites Méxicaines,” the “Cités et Ruines Méxicaines” of Waldeck,—Brasseur de Bourbourg, &c., &c.—Reference to these sources is self-understood.

DOMINGO JUARREZ. “Compendio de la Historia de Guatemala.” 1808–1818, Guatemala. (Relies too much on Fuentes.) English translation by Bailey. London, 1823. “A statistical and Commercial History of the Kingdom of Guatemala, in Spanish America.”—A second Spanish edition appeared in 1857.

FRANCISCO DE PAULA GARCIA PELAEZ. (See Chiapas.).

“Memorias para la Historia del Antiguo Reyno de Guatemala.” 1852.

CHARLES ETIENNE BRASSEUR DE BOURBOURG. “Popol Vuh. Le livre Sacré et les Mythes de l'Antiquité Américaine, avec les livres Héroïques et Historiques des Quichés.” Paris, 1861.

Hardly any work of this century has created such a “mixed” sensation of a serious nature, as this book.—It could be seen at a glance, that no mystification was possible,—but there was a wide field open for discussion on the point of origin, as far as the document itself, the “Popol Vuh,” was concerned.—Still the “sensation” has not resulted in much active critical examination, and I think (If I may be permitted to commit such a breach of modesty,) myself the only person attempting a criticism of the “Popol Vuh” on the basis of documentary evidence. Unfortunately, I was unable to prepare my annotations in time for the publication of the 27th Volume of Proceedings of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, in 1878.—

Thus only the text of "Sources for aboriginal history of Spanish America," appeared without any documentary evidence attached.

One thing is evident, that the "Popol Vuh" was *written*. Now it is a fact very easily proven, that the aborigines of Guatemala had no phonetic alphabet whatever, consequently *that they did not write*.—Therefore the "Popol Vuh" must have been composed, as an instrument in writing, since the conquest; or after 1524.—This is developed utterly independent of the fact that the document hints at two data (p. 343,) indicating the time of its composition to have been after 1550, and prior to 1600.—Therefore it was written in our letters, or perhaps with the aid of the "five characters" invented by Fray Francisco de la Parra, previous to 1560, to indicate sounds for which our alphabet had no signs.—At all events, it was written in the native Quiché idiom, and was only met with incidentally by Fray Francisco Ximenez at the town of Chichicastenango, towards the close of the 17th century.—This Dominican monk translated it into the Spanish language and incorporated both text and translation in the first volume of his "Historia de la provincia de predicadores, &c."—according to Brasseur de Bourbourg's really silly and irritatingly confused bibliography—(p. XIII., "Notice Bibliographique.") Dr. Scherzer certainly deserves credit for having published a Spanish text rendering approximatively the "Popol Vuh," in 1857, and there is no doubt but that it is as correct a rendering of the original Quiché as the French translation of Brasseur de Bourbourg.

The filiation of the text being thus established as far back as 1550 to 1600, it remains to investigate the question: how much of it was originally Indian;—if all of it or not? There is no doubt but that the greater part of it is Indian songs, preserved for centuries, and Indian myths and tales—historical traditions—which were recorded by the compiler in the form now before us. But this compiler, or rather—recorder—has given to these tales a chronological sequence,—at least in the first part,—which may hereafter prove conjectural.—Actions are made to succeed to each other, which may yet prove to be without any connection at all.—I do not insist upon this point—since a new translation of the "Popol Vuh" should precede its investigation—but I particularly insist upon a careful and critical study of its first so-called "Chapters."

These first chapters give us cosmological Ideas and Notions, purporting to be originally Indian, which, at their very inception, show a singular admixture of foreign elements. The first sentences appear to be transcriptions from the book of Genesis. They are not aboriginally American.—We are therefore led to investigate whether, prior to 1550, European influences could have been brought to bear upon the recollection and the imagination of the natives.—There is very positive evidence to that effect.—The monks, at the earliest stages of conversion, used paintings of their own, to impress upon the natives the notions of a creation of the world, of the deluge and salvation of a single pair therefrom, &c., &c.—The Dominican Father Gonzalo Lucero travelled about with painted charts representing such striking events, which he displayed in

confirmation of his teachings. Fray Jacobo Testera (he died Aug. 8, 1543) used similar means. Fray Pedro de Angulo, who went with Las Casas to Guatemala and was made Provincial of Chiapas in 1561, wrote three dissertations in the Zutuhil language, one on the Creation of the World, one on Adam's Fall, and one on the Expulsion of our first fathers from Paradise.—Fray Luis Cancer wrote similar pages in the language of Oajaca, previous to 1546.—Fray Domingo Vico, who was killed by the Indians of Lacandon, in 1555, wrote his "Teologia para los Indios," in the Quiché language, also a dissertation on the "Eternal Paradise," in the language of Vera-Paz.—But there is also indisputable proof that *songs were composed on the subject of the creation of the world* and other parts of the Hebrew Genesis, in the Quiché language, which songs were used as the means of conversion of the natives of Vera-Paz in 1537. (Remesal. Lib. III., Cap. XI., p. 124.) They had been composed by Las Casas, Fray Rodrigo de Ladrada, Fray Pedro de Angulo, and probably Fray Luis Cancer. Many other similar ones were composed afterwards.

Thus we see that, prior to 1550, ecclesiastics had commenced to write upon cosmological subjects with our letters and in the languages of Guatemala, and that, on the other hand, Christian cosmogony had become a text for Indian songs. The "Popol Vuh" has therefore nothing extraordinary in its origin; it is but a child of its time, like the "Memorial de Tecpan-Atitlan," by the Chief of Sololá, only anonymous,—and preceded by a cosmological introduction made up of Christian and Indian tales confusedly intermingled, and therefore apocryphal so far. These criticisms, however, apply merely to the "first part,"—the rest of the "Popol Vuh" appears to be original, and therefore of the greatest value. This however cannot be said of the translation, only of the MS. A new translation, supervised by a native, should be obtained at any price.

"Grammaire Quiché, et le Drame Rabinal-Aché." Paris, 1862.

Of the "Rabinal-Aché," a new translation is absolutely requisite. Mr. Brasseur, like all translators of Indian songs, has so disfigured it by the introduction of a foreign terminology, as to render it useless for any one who has no access to vocabularies, &c.

JOHN L. STEPHENS. (See Yucatan), also FREDERICK CATHERWOOD.

JUAN GALINDO. (See Yucatan and Chiapas.)

What I have seen of his reports has left upon my mind the impression that he means to be truthful, but in his zeal and eagerness saw "too big," and again "too often."

"The Ruins of Copan in Central America." Transactions of the American Antiquarian Society, Vol. II., pp. 545-550. 1836.

"Notions sur Palenque," &c., &c., "transmises à la Société géographique de France," in "Antiquités mexicaines," Vol. I., pp. 73-76.—Pub-



lished also in the "Bulletin" of the French Geographical Society, and in the "Literary Gazette" of London.

E. G. SQUIER. "The Serpent-Symbol, and the Worship of the Reciprocal Principles of Nature in America." N. York, 1851.

"The States of Central America: their Geography, Topography, &c., &c. Aborigines," N. York, 1858.

"Notes on Central América, particularly the States of Honduras and San Salvador." N. York, 1855.—German translation, Leipzig, 1856.—French version, Paris, 1855.—Spanish, Paris, 1856, (two different translations.)

"Honduras, Descriptive, Historical and Statistical." London, 1870.

"Honduras and Guatemala." "The National Intelligencer." N. York, 1854.

"The Ruins of Tenampua." Although in Honduras, they appear traditionally connected with Copan. N. York, 1853, in "Proceedings of the Historical Society of New York."

"Monograph of Authors who have Written on the Languages of Central America." Albany, 1861.—A very valuable and important contribution to bibliography.

CARL SCHERZER. "Wanderungen durch die mittel-amerikanischen Freistaaten." Braunschweig, 1857.—English version, London, 1857.

"Narrative of the Circumnavigation of the Globe by the Austrian frigate Novara." London, 1861. (The official reports on the results of the circumnavigation, &c., are very rare.)

"Die Indianer von Ixtlahuacan." Vienna, 1856. Bancroft Library

"Ein Besuch bei den Ruinen von Quirigua." Vienna, 1855.

I omit here his linguistical writings, and his publication of the "Historia del Origen de los Indios, &c.," in 1857.—See Ximenez.

MORITZ WAGNER, AND CARL SCHERZER. "Die Republik Costa-Rica in Central Amerika." Leipzig, 1857.—Describes the ruins of Quirigua.

MANUEL GALVAN RIVERA. "Historia de México, Guatemala, Estados Unidos del Norte, Perú, &c." México, 1852.

"GACETA DE GUATEMALA." (From 1797.) Contains interesting notices, historical and ethnological.

"PERIODICO DE LA SOCIEDAD ECONOMICA DE GUATEMALA." (Only 24 numbers published in 1815 and 1816.) 1 May, 1815, to 15 April, 1816.

THE PADRES: CHICA, ABELLA, AND ESCOTO, AND AGUILAR. "Informes, al Ill'mo Señor Arzobispo de Guatemala, tocantes á la Vera-Paz." 1819 and 1820. MSS.

DOMINGUEZ DE MAZARIEGOS. (See Chiapas.)

DOMINGO FAJARDO. "Informe dirigido al Gobierno Supremo de México, relativo á su Mision á Vera-Paz y Peten." Campeche, 1828.

ORLANDO N. ROBERTS. "Narrative of Voyages and Excursions on the East Coast and in the Interior of Central America." Edinburgh, 1827.

CARL HERMANN BERENDT. "Report of Explorations in Central America." Smithsonian Report, 1867.

"Collection of historical documents on Guatemala." Smithsonian Report, 1876.

"Die Indianer des Isthmus von Tehuantepec."—Zeitschrift für Ethnologie. Berlin, 1873, Vol. V.

"*Analytical Alphabet* for the Mexican and Central American Languages." Published by the American Ethnological Society. New York, 1869.

"*Cartilla en Lengua Maya* para la enseñanza de los niños indigenes." Mérida, 1871.

*El Ramie*. Tratado sobre el cultivo y algunas noticias de esta planta. Mérida de Yucatan, 1871. (Ed. de la Revista de Mérida.)

*Los Escritos de D. Joaquin Garcia Icazbalceta*. Ed. de la Revista de Mérida. Tomo II., 1870.

"*Articulo sobre El México;*" se halla en el "Deútsch Amerikanisches Conversations Lexicon, barbeitet von. Prof. Alex. I. Schem. Lieferung 64, Band VII., Seite 261, pp. 27. (N. Y. 1872.)

"*Remarks on the Centres of Ancient Civilization in Central America, and their Geographical Distribution.*" Address read before the Am. Geogr. Society, N. Y., July 10th, 1876, with map,

*Zur Ethnologie von Nicaragua*. Articulo publicado en Correspondenz-Blatt der deutschen Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte. Redigirt von N. A. v. Frantzius in Heidelberg, No. 9, September, 1874.

In "Geographische Mittheilungen" von A. Petermann, Gotha.

(The above makes no pretension to be a full list of the eminent linguist's publications.)

ALEXANDER VON FRANTZIUS. (See Palacio.)

"San Salvador and Honduras im Jahre, 1847."—Annotated also by Berendt.

GUSTAV BERNOULLI. "Reisen in der Republik Guatemala."—In "Petermann's Mittheilungen," 1874-75.

BARON DER THEIL. "Le Guatemala." In "l'Explorateur," Vol. III. 1876.

J. LAFERRIER. "De Paris au Guatémala." Paris, 1877.

GEORGE WILLIAMSON. "Antiquities in Guatemala." Smithsonian Reports, 1876. (Very interesting and of great value for archæological studies.)

J. W. BODDAM-WETHAM. "Across Central America." London, 1877.

ADOLPH BASTIAN. "Die Monumenta in Santa Lucia Cozumalguapa." —"Zeitschrift für Ethnologie," 1876.

"Die Culturlander des alten Amerikas." (See Yucatan.)

GUSTAV BRÜHL. (See Yucatan.)

H. W. BATES. "Central America, West Indies, and South America." London, 1878.

A. BONCARD. "Le Guatémala."—Iq "L'explorateur," 1878. No. 23.

FRANCISCO PIMENTEL. (See Yucatan and Chiapas.)

MANUEL OROZCO Y BERRA. (See Yucatan, &c.)

S. HABEL. "The Sculptures of Santa Lucia Cozumalguapa."—Smithsonian Contributions, No. 269.—Washington, 1878.

In closing this list, I must again distinctly state, that it is very imperfect,—and that no one acquainted with the literature of Central America can fail to notice many omissions.—But I had neither time, nor opportunity to do better, owing to the state of my health. In conclusion, I wish to advert to a few books of an exclusively bibliographical tenor, which every student of American history must at least attempt to consult.—Some of them are, unfortunately, extremely rare:

NICOLÁS ANTONIO. "Bibliotheca Hispana Nova, &c." 1st edition, Rome, 1672. 2d edition, Madrid, 1733–38.

JUAN JOSÉ DE EGUIARA Y EGUREN. "Biblioteca Mexicana." México, 1755. Incomplete: only the first volume published.

ANTONIO DE ALCEDO. "Biblioteca americana." MS. Original belonged to Mr. Jared Sparks. México, 1807.

J. MARIANO BÉRISTAIN DE SOUZA. "Biblioteca Hispana Americana. Septentrional." México, 1816 and 1819, 3 volumes. (Exceedingly rare.)

BRASSEUR DE BOURBOURG. "Bibliothèque inéxico-guatemalienne." Paris, 1871.

I forbear quoting here at length the bibliographical works of Harris, Rich, Ludewig, Ternaux-Compans, Sabin, and others.—They are deservedly well known, and of easy access to any student.

## OAJACA. ("Huaxyacac.")

*Writers of the Sixteenth Century.*

HERNAN CORTÉS. (2d letter.)

BERNAL DIEZ DEL CASTILLO. (Casual notice.)

FRANCISCO LOPEZ DE GOMARA. ("Conquista de México.")

FRAY TORIBIO DE PARADES, SURNAMED MOTOLINIA. ("Historia de los Indios de la Nueva-España." See bibliography of Yucatan.)—This is probably the earliest mention of the ruins of Mitla, which were, however, inhabited at that time. Motolinia has been entirely overlooked by Bancroft, although his description of Mitla is truly excellent.

GONZALO FERNANDEZ DE OVIEDO Y VALDÉS. (Casual notice.)

CODEx CHIMALPOPOCA. Now in process of publication, in the "Anales del Museo Nacional de México." Vol. II., by Mendoza, Sanchez Solís, and Chavero.

JUAN DE TOBAR. "Código Ramírez,"—published by Sr J. M. Vigil, as an anonymous chronicle, in 1878. Also "Historia de los Indios Mexicanos." Original in possession of the Estate of Sir Thomas Phillips, at Cheltenham, England. Copy of a fragment, privately printed, at the Lenox Library, New York. (Written between 1579 and 1589.)

DIEGO DURÁN. "Historia de las Indias de Nueva-España, é Yslas de Tierra firme."—(Written between 1579 and 1581, but only the first part of it printed, at Mexico, 1867, by Sr José Fr Ramirez.)—Very important; mentions again Mitla as a settlement inhabited about 1450. "Apéndice" por Alfredo Chavaro, México, 1880.

FERNANDO DE ALVARADO TEZOMOC. "Crónica mexicana."—Written 1598. Printed for the first time in Vol. IX. of Kingsborough, and again (though not complete) in the "Biblioteca mexicana" of Sr Vigil, with notes by Sr Orozco y Berra.—A French translation has been made by Ternaux-Compans, under the title of "Histoire du Mexique, par Alvarado Tezomoc," Paris, 1853, 2 vols. It is utterly unreliable.

FRAY GERÓNIMO DE MENDIETA. (Copies textually from Motolinia.)

FRAY BERNARDINO SAHAGUN. "Historia universal de las Cosas de Nueva-España," in Vols. 6 and 8 of Kingsborough.—The same book, under the title of "Historia general, &c., &c." appeared at Mexico, in 3 vols., 1829, edited by C. M. de Bustamante. Only very slight and casual mention of Oajaca.

*Writers of the Seventeenth Century.*

AUGUSTIN DÁVILA-PADILLA.

JUAN DE TORQUEMADA. (Important.)

ANTONIO DE HERRERA. (Important.)



GREGORIO GARCIA. (Important.)

FRANCISCO DE BURGOA. "Palestra Historiale de Virtudes y Exemplares Apostólicos." México, 1670.

"Geográfica Descripción de la Parte Septentrional del Polo Artico de la América." México, 1674. This work is regarded (especially by such as have not seen it), as the leading work on Oajaca.—I have never even seen it—it is exceedingly rare.

*Writers of the Eighteenth Century.*

MARIANO VEYTIA.

F. X. CLAVIGERO.

ANTONIO DE ALCEDO.

LORENZO BOTURINI BERNADUCCI.

JOSEPH JOAQUIN GRANADOS Y GALVEZ. "Tardes americanas." México, 1778.—A work considerably over-estimated,—containing casual mention of Oajaca,—fluently written.

*Writers of the Nineteenth Century.*

I forbear mentioning here *all* the writers on Oajaca,—more particularly avoiding all the general works,—those excepted which contain plates of special value. The first who called attention to Mitla was certainly

ALEXANDER VON HUMBOLDT. "Vues des Cordillères et monuments des peuples indigènes de l'Amérique." Paris, 1810. Royal folio.—Same, 2 vols. 8° Paris, 1816. English version, by Helen M. Williams, London, 1814.

"Essai politique sur la Nouvelle-Espagne." (See "Yucatan.")

MATHIEU DE FOSSEY. "Le Mexique." Paris, 1857.—Very fair.

EDUARD MÜHLENPFORDT. "Versuch einer getreuen Schilderung der Republik Mejico." Hannover, 1844. 2 vols.

ARTHUR VON TEMPSKY. "Mitla, a Narrative of Incidents and Personal Adventures." London, 1858.—Of small scientific value.

GUILLERMO DUPAIX, AND CASTAÑEDA. (In "Antiquités Méxicaines," also in Lord Kingsborough's "Antiquities of Mexico.")

DÉSIRÉ CHARNAY. (Saw the ruins in 1859. His photographs are very important.)

JOSÉ MARIA GARCIA. (Visited Mitla in 1855, according to "Boletín de la Sociedad Mexicana de Geografía y Estadística." Vol. VII., pp. 271 and 272.)

BRANTZ-MAYER. "Mexico as it Was and as it Is." New York, 1844. Very fair.

"Mexico, Aztec, Spanish and Republican." Hartford, 1853. Very good.

"Observations on Mexican History and Archæology." (Smithsonian Contributions. No. 86, Washington, 1856.) Contains Sawkins' drawings of Mitla. [?]

J. W. VON MÜLLER. "Beitrage zur Geschichte und Ethnographie von Mexico." Leipzig, 1865.

"Reisen in den Vereinigten-Staaten, Canada, and Mexico." Leipzig, 1864.

CARLOS MARIA DE BUSTAMANTE. "Memoria estadística de Oajaca, y descripcion del Valle del mismo nombre." Vera-Cruz, 1821.

MURGUIA. "Estadistica antigua y moderna de la Provincia de Guajaca." "Boletin, &c." Vol. II.)

JUAN B. CARRIEDO. The writings of this author are, unfortunately, but little known.—In the "Ilustracion Mexicana," Vol. II., he has given an essay on "Los Palacios Antiguos de Mitla."—But he has published other papers and even books on the same subject.

"Estudios históricos, y estadísticos del estado Oaxaqueño." Oajaca, 1850.

The Astor Library of New York has an incomplete copy of a work of Carriedo on Oajaca, with colored drawings by him,—unfinished. Copious notes by the author's own hand accompany the text. In historical questions Carriedo mostly follows and cites Burgoa.

FRANCISCO PIMENTEL. "Cuadro descriptivo de las Lenguas Indígenas de México." (See Yucatan and Chiapas.)

MANUEL OROZCO Y BERRA. In "Geografia de las Lenguas."—Reference is made to a number of very important papers on Oajaca, the title of one, among others, "Estado que comprende el número de Parroquias de la Diócesis de Oajaca, con expresion de sus nombres, Estado ó Territorio en que están situadas, número de pueblos, &c., &c."

Further, certain official reports are quoted,—the originals of which are in the hands of my friend Sr J. G. Icazbalceta.—Sr Orozco mentions the following:

PEDRO DE LEDESMA. "Relacion de Oajaca, por el alcalde . . ." 1579.

HERNANDO DE CERVANTES. "Relacion de Teotzacualco y Amoltepec. . . ." 1580.

AUGUSTIN DE SALAZAR. "Relacion del vicario de Chilapa."

JUAN LOPEZ. "Relacion del Corregidor . . ." 1579.

Finally, I must call attention to a linguistical work, known to me only through S<sup>r</sup> Orozco y Berra's citation, and through references given by S<sup>r</sup> Pimentel—to wit:

ANTONIO DE LOS REYES. "Arte en lengua mixteca." México, 1593.

Numerous grammars, vocabularies, "doctrinas," sermonaries, &c., &c., were written in the course of the 16th century, of and in the language of Oajaca.

EMILIO HÉRBRÜGER. "Album de vistas fotográficas de las antiguas Ruinas de los Palacios de Mitla." Oaxaca, 1875. Text and valuable photographs.

In conclusion, I would merely beg to add,—that there can hardly be any doubt as to the fact that Mitla was *inhabited* when the Spaniards first visited the place. It therefore becomes a point of special interest.











